/269/

131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
[648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
[199] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
132 aldeia, during January-February, 1936, at the time when the
648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
563 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
[223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
62 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
[221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

/270 cont./

621 and the children under 15 years of age certainly not exceeding
162 ten, only two or three of them being younger. The physical type
142 seems well preserved; the number of handsome and healthy individuals—especially among the men—were in the large majority
[141] (Pl. VII, A-B, A /see p. 45 /: Tõnkŏd'da˘, around 25 years old; 1.723 meters tall; horizontal cephalic index: 84.65). The di-
164 eases which rage in the region—yellow fever and smallpox—are those which eliminate rather than impair. Many natives bear
[732] traces of the last, however. A leper was living in the village. Along with a blind man, he represented the only infirmities.
191 Only one native, an escapee from the missions, spoke fluent Portuguese, which it seems he had formerly been able to read and write. Five or six understood it but had a vocabulary of only a few words at their disposal. The others did not know the language at all.

Structure of the Village

616 Kejara aldeia is divided into two exogamous phratries, named
614 respectively Tugare and Čera. The meaning of these terms was
[621] never specifically stated to us; only once, in connection with clan Ki, which means tapir, it was mentioned to us that all the Čera are tapirs. Each of these phratries is divided into several clans (1)

1. The term võbe, which we translate this way, means precisely "group of relatives."

or groups of clans, a list of which follows:

Tugare phratry:
Paiwe (Hedgehog) clan
Ãróre (Catepillar) clan
Ẽwãguddu (Buriti) clan
Apibore clan.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Otuké SF18 Bororo SP8

THE BORORO

By Robert H. Lowie

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Bororo* linguistic family comprises two major branches, the *Bororo* proper and the *Otuké* (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913). Culturally, the *Otuké* must be considered with the tribes of the Province of Chiquitos (Handbook, volume 3). Ethnographically, the *Bororo*, at least of the *Eastern* subdivision, are far better known.

I. *Bororo:* (1) *Eastern Bororo;* (2) *Bororo da Campanha;* (3) *Bororo do Cabeçal;* (4) *Umotina* (*Barbados*), formerly between the upper Paraguay and Sepotuba Rivers, peaceable since 1913; remnants survive in Barra dos Bugres; (5) *Bororo* of the upper Rio Cuyabá; and (6) *Bororo* in the Minas triangle (aldeas of Sant' Anna, Pisarrão, Lanhoso, and da Pedra, founded in 1761 with *Bororo* from the Rio dos Porrudos as a protection against the *Southern Cayapó*. In 1811 part of the aldea das Pedras was transplanted to Bananal, an Araguaya River island. The fifth and sixth groups are now extinct.

II. *Otuké:* (1) *Otuké* proper, about lat. 17°–18° S., long. 59°–60° W.; (2) *Covareka*, about lat. 17° S., northwest of the preceding; and (3) *Curumincka*, just southwest of the Guaporé headwaters, lat. 16° S.

The *Bororo* subfamily centers in Matto Grosso, but extends slightly across the Bolivian border and into western Goyaz. Excluding the virtually extinct groups noted, we may recognize a *Western* and an *Eastern* subdivision. The former includes the *Bororo da Campanha* (*Campina*), i. e., the plains dwellers southwest of the lower Rio Jauré, an affluent of the Paraguay River; and the *Bororo Cabeçaes* (*do Cabeçal*), north of the Jauré River on both banks of the Rio Cabeçal. The *Eastern Bororo*, or "*Orarimugudoge*," to whom the blanket term "*Coroados*" has sometimes been applied, extends from lat. 15° to 18° S. and from long. 52° to 56° W. The three subtribes live about (1) the upper and middle São Lourenço River; (2) the Rio das Garças, a tributary of the Araguaya River; and (3) the Rio Vermelho, affluent of the upper São Lourenço; here are the villages of Kajaru, Pobori, and Jarudori.

In 1888, Von den Steinen (1894) visited a São Lourenço group which had been settled at Thereza Christina, near the Prata-São Lourenço confluence, southeast of Cuyabá. He set the population at 350 and heard that it had originally been 1,000. Another group was then settled at Isabel, at the Paquiry-São Lourenço confluence. In 1901, W. A. Cook (1907) visited eight villages in this region.

The Rio das Garças district has been missionized by Salesians since 1902, Colbacchini describing the natives in a major treatise (1925). In 1934, Baldus (1936) visited Sangradouro, Meruri, and Tori-paru, villages in this area, and estimated that less than 1,000 *Bororo* lived east of the Paraguay River. In Tori-paru he found a little over 100 residents, 35 men occupying the men's house.

Lévi-Strauss (1936) investigated the village of Kejara of the Vermelho division and estimated its population at 140. This is probably Frič's Kajari (1905), since moved to a different spot.

In 1894, J. Koslowsky (1895 b) saw some *Western Bororo* in Descavalidos and across the Bolivian border.

In 1931, Petrullo (1932) took photographs of the *Bororo da Campanha* and on the São Lourenço River. His excavation of sites at Descavalidos revealed pottery and a method of interment different from those of the *Bororo* and presumably pre-*Bororo*.

101 Only an old knowledgeable Bororo chief and his wife are still living there, and we moved there to work with them.

114 The village of Pobojari was built in the traditional circular shape, with the men's house in the center and nine houses around it. In one year of residence there we counted a total of 99 people in the village (of whom 13 were children) with roughly 50 people there at any one time. Eight people died, and there was one birth. The majority of the adult population were alcoholics and suffered from various kinds of respiratory diseases. We were able to gather considerable data watching funeral ceremonies, but after the first few deaths these ceremonies became an obstacle to our work because our informants were involved so much of the time performing ceremonial duties. As a result the situation in the village was quite depressing and the working conditions were at times difficult. The days were often spent waiting for an informant to sober up. The situation sharply contrasted with reports of previous researchers which depicted the Bororo as a happy and easygoing people always ready to laugh. But the economic conditions had changed. Game was practically nonexistent, and great time and effort were required to catch fish in waters that had become muddy as a result of agricultural changes introduced by the Brazilian settlers.

The land surrounding our village had already been allotted to Brazilian farmers, and only our presence there kept the settlers from forcing the Bororo to move away. "Americans" are considered powerful people, and besides everybody

/113 cont./

797 Sangradouro, and the Coração de Jesus colony on the Rio
131 Barreiro, tributary of the Rio das Garças, which is generally
designated by the Bororo name Meruri, "place of the rays."
[114] I was in these missions in January of 1934. The road from
Cuyabá to the first one is about 50 leagues; and from there to
Meruri is still about 20 leagues.

133 Sangradouro is located on a height of 825 meters, and
Meruri on a height of 470 meters. The observatory of
132 Sangradouro verified, from its founding in the year of 1924,
as average temperature, 27°. The maximum took place in
/114/ January of 1928, with 38°; the minimum on June 20 of
1933, with -5°. The barometric average in Sangradouro up
to now is 715. The observatory of Meruri confirmed as
maximum temperature in the year of 1933, on August 26,
37.4°, as minimum of the same year, on June 22, -1.3°.

132 In Sangradouro the great freeze of June of 1933 nipped
291 the bananas, manioc, sugar cane, tomatoes, coffee, mango,
avocado and the buriti, while the plants with thorns, such as
orange trees, lemon trees, and the rose bushes did not suffer
at all. In Meruri they plant maize, rice, manioc, sugar cane,
vineyards, pineapple, and other fruits.

162 In January of 1931, 37 Bororo families, which numbered
[16] 185 individuals, lived in Sangradouro. In January of 1934
only 5 families were there, composed of 11 adults and twelve
children.

On January 18 of 1934 28 Bororo families lived in Meruri,
that is, 32 men, 28 women, 33 children of male sex and 44
children of the female sex, 137 individuals in all.

[131] In the environs of the prospectors' settlement Poxoreu,
which arose more or less in 1925 on the west bank of the Rio
Poxoreu, at about 54° 20' west longitude and 16° south
latitude, and which in May of 1933 numbered 254 houses
with 824 inhabitants, there lived among the Brazilians, in
[166] January of 1934, 70 Bororo, for the most part men. Fifty
[797] of them had emigrated in the /115/ previous year from

/115 cont./

162 Sangradouro to there; they told of having come at the in-
166 vitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director
797 of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The
Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is ad-
ministered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only
visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for
protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo
of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão
de Proteção aos Indios.

657 Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region
131 of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south
[162] latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is
another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to
a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos
Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500
inhabitants in 1933.

621 Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settle-
162 ment that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude
[131] and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than
[103] 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named
Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru:
underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia
means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has
existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On
the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the
men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total
number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the
aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100.
[241] They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/
[464] papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/,
[131] and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations.
Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

177 The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the
[184] Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our
civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri,
although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were
previously in these missions.

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas
164 in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
262 many young men and women have already lost a large part
[827] of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of oauassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

/123 cont./

163 If the children are from a previous marriage of the husband, the number for them is put in parenthesis; being from a previous marriage of the woman, the number is between brackets.

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	Father	Mother	Children living m	Children living f	Children dead m	Children dead f
1	Alexio 50	Alvina 55	2			1
2	Antonio 55 v	Assumpção 65 v	(1) [1]	[1]	(3) [1]	[1]
3	Attilho 23	Frederica 17			1	
4	Braz 50	Josefina 38	2	4	1	3
5	Benedito 65	Loiduvina 55	1	1		
6	Bentino 20	Dosithea 20				
7	Baptista 26	Erminia 21	1		1	
8	Claudio 22	Ismaelita 19		1		
9	Domingo 50	Natalia 52		1	1	
10	Elias 21	Conceição 18	2			
11	Estanisláo 45	Angelina 45		1		1
12	Eugenio 18	Cecilia 16		1		
13	João 38	Regina 19				
14	João Cagliero 50	Judith 50	1	4	2	2
15	João Baptista 50 v	Lucina 20	(2)	(1) 1	(4)	
16	Modesto 35	Anita 26	2	2		
17	Sebastião 55 v	Aida 40 v	(2) [1]		(1) [1]	
18	Thiago 35	Maria Luisa 35	1	1		2

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• 162
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582

	Father	Mother	Children living m	Children living f	Children dead m	Children dead f
19	Ugo 27	Claudia 22		2		
20	Vito 45	Angelina ?	3	2		
21	Rafael 60 v	Catarina 32	(1)	(3)		
22	Manoel 32	Jacinta 45 v	[1] 1	4		
23	José Maria 27	Theresa 26		1		1
24	Justino 39	Clotilde 35	2	1	1	3
25	Joaquim 70	Irene 50		(2)	(1)	(1)
26	Cirilo 35	Maria 42 v	[1]	[1] 2		
27	Luiz 50	Florisbela 55	1	1	2	1
28	Gabriel Pilar 34 (abandoned his wife)		2	1		1
		Total:	31	39	20	17
	orphan brothers		1	2		
	" "		1	2		
	orphan boy		1			
	orphan girl			1		
	3 bachelors					
	1 widower					
	1 widow					

853 children climb the mother's leg to nurse. She does not appear to take any more notice of her child at such times than does a 162 mother goat her kid. Bororó families are small. I did not see a mother with more than three children. The *mêdo* are usually 593 faithful to their wives; that is, they seldom desert them, especially if they have children. At rare intervals, one becomes 586 dissatisfied with his *arêda* and drives her from his hut, then leaving home himself, goes to reside in some other village of the tribe.

578 Fights between two *mêdo* are not uncommon, owing, nearly always, to one meddling with the *arêda* of the other. The fight is precipitated by the outraged husband, as he perhaps sits at work in his hut, beginning to express his opinion of the other *mêdo*, and to hurl at him offensive epithets. The other *mêdo*, sitting in his hut at the opposite side of the cluster of huts, responds loudly with interest. As they become more and more enraged, they challenge each other to fight, prepare themselves and come out of their huts, and finally meet on the village playground; and every *mêdo*, *arêda*, and *naragêda*—child—in the local horde abandons at once every occupation and forms a circle around the combatants, for an event of this kind is considered the finest kind of sport and not to be missed on any account. This is a go-as-you-please encounter; there are no rules, except that the dualists do not use deadly weapons. So they roll and tumble, and kick, and punch, and bite, and scratch one another, having the poisonous spine of the fish called sting-ray, armed to their little fingers, and bellow and roar continually, like fiends. Their powers of endurance are marvelous, and the combat often continues many hours. Finally, one is vanquished, and he leaves the village and the *arêda* in question to the victor, and takes up his residence in a distant village of [674] the tribe. The Bororó rarely murder one another.

142 The Bororó women are nearly as large and scarcely less 147 muscular than the men, and can carry heavy loads great distances, having been inured to this from childhood. When a 484 family moves from one village to another, or goes forth on a 482 two or three months' hunting and fishing expedition during the 462

345 /451 cont./
especially the hunting songs and the dances and laments in case
[562] of death, and consultations. The women had free access and,
as we shall see, were sometimes dragged there by force.

361 The huts were everywhere pushed close to the edge of the
514 forest. Numerous narrow paths led into it; privies of even the
most primitive kind did not exist in the houses any more than in
Cuyabá; and just as in the city one went into the garden, so in the
339 colony one sought the woods. Upstream lay the so-called brick-
241 yard, where loam was fetched and a kiln had been built but never
used, and, in a clearing, the little that was planted was to be
231 found. As for animals, one saw only a few dogs and chickens
among the soldiers and a few red araras among the Indians.
There were also a few black carrion vultures always hovering about
in the vicinity. The cattle to be slaughtered were caught by
vaqueanos outside on the campo, where they lived in complete
freedom. The mules were also allowed to roam and were sought
out if one needed them or if one wanted to check them.

● 162 There were about 50 Brazilians in the colony, along with the
621 wives of the soldiers; only a few were lighter than the Bororó
and many were darker. I estimated the number of Bororó present
at some 200 with wives and children. A group was away on a
hunting expedition, however, and Duarte had taken about 20
along to Cuyabá. A generous figure for the total number would
be 350, officially 450. In the beginning there were said to have
been considerably more -- Eliseo said over 1000 at one time.
As a matter of fact, Clemente also said that the Bororó from all
[114] the villages had put in an appearance. Thus we see that the ap-
proximately "10,000" spoken of in Cuyabá is not in any case
conceivable.

179 European clothing. The first impression that we had of the
291 Bororó was essentially different from that of the decent and in-
dustrious Schingú Indians. Not so much with respect to the lack
of clothing. /452/ Chief Moguyokuri, to be sure, paraded about
mostly in his shirt, seldom in trousers, and only the rowdy Chief
Arateba regularly wore shirt and trousers. They liked to wrap
themselves in their sleeping blankets on a colder day or toward

561 /500 cont./
591 As far as I understood the matter, the tribe was divided
836 into two large classes: that of the family huts and that of the
548 men's house. The former included the older heads of families who lived in regular marriage, the latter the bachelors who captured girls for themselves and possessed them jointly in smaller groups. The abduction of women that goes on from tribe to tribe was carried on here within the tribe. Only a part of the tribesmen were permanently in possession /501/ of women. It is certain that these strange conditions were not an incidental result of the colony. Clemente said that the situation was exactly the same in the villages, and, what is more convincing proof, the customs themselves show that it is a matter of established institutions. Except for the Brazilian leader Duarte with
595 his two women, apparently only Moguyokuri lived in polygamy — in Thereza Christina, and it was interesting enough in what fashion. His wives were an older woman and her daughter by her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and since the mother was ugly and the daughter pretty, he also "married" the daughter. In the villages, however, polygamy is more extensively the rule among the older people. Only as
● [162] a result of the demands of the Brazilians, an exceptional situation to a certain extent seemed to prevail in the colony, for there was a scarcity of women both for the huts as well as for the men's house.

[583] Of the Bororó on the Jaurú Waehneldt reports: "At their marriages they have no other ceremony than to take as many women as they can support or, stated more correctly, as appear there (from the outside); almost all husbands had many wives, up to six, whereas in the village of the Bororó near S. Mathias there was such a scarcity of them that girls eight and ten years
344 old were obliged to serve as such." There was no men's house
562 there, but merely an enclosure four and a half meters in diameter, in which the padres performed the consecration and which women and children were not permitted to enter, the "sanctuary."